2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan.

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved.

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn.

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

give her the best mare taken. She would not refuse him anything he asked of her, and, if he were killed while fighting with the enemy, she was expected to inflict self-torture and dress in mourning. She would assist her brothers in acquiring property needed for the ceremonies. This bond of mutual assistance was not affected by his subsequent marriage. Brothers and sisters were supposed to share in the perpetuation of their parents' ceremonial bundles. In old age, when their respective families were broken up by deaths, brothers would frequently return to the parental lodge. The smallpox epidemic of 1837 left many orphans, and these were taken into households where the females were of the same clan.

Grandfather–grandchild (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—The grandfather–grandchild relation was, in general, one of affection. The grandfather would make toys for his grandsons, teach them stories, and watch after them when on summer buffalo hunts, especially when moving camp or while the men and women of middle age were busy butchering and drying meat. Of the large number of persons addressed as "grandfather," his closest relations were those associated with him in the daily life of the household. The lodge grandfather was usually the one to take a grandson to the river early each morning to bathe. He teased his grandson mildly for falling off a horse or for small infractions of tribal custom, but the grandson would not reciprocate, since the grandfather was respected for his knowledge of tribal lore, the enemies he had struck, or the horses he had captured. A young man was expected to respect older people as holy, since in their lifetime they had had experiences with sacred things in the ceremonies.

The grandfather would play with a granddaughter when she was young and teach her stories. When she attained the age of ten years, he would avoid her lest people gossip. Should he come into the lodge and find a granddaughter alone, he would leave immediately.

A grandfather never punished grandchildren, but he would scold them. A grandfather living in the lodge was highly respected and was very helpful in preparing a grandson for ceremonies and war expeditions. If he became cross as he grew old, the grandson generally avoided him. If the grandfather was of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons' " wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 324 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-